

# Collection of Papers

Relating to the

Present Juncture of Affairs in *England*.

V I Z.

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AN  
**ENQUIRY**  
 Into the Measures of  
**SUBMISSION**  
 TO THE  
**SUPREAM AUTHORITY:**

*And of the Grounds upon which it may be lawful or necessary for Subjects to defend their Religion, Lives, and Liberties.*

**T**His Enquiry cannot be regularly made, but by taking in the first place, a true and full view of the nature of *Civil Society*, and more particularly of the nature of *Supream Power*, whether it is lodged in one or more Persons?

1. It is certain, That the *Law of Nature* has put no difference nor subordination among Men, except it be that of *Children to Parents*, or of *Wives to their Husbands*; so that with Relation to the *Law of Nature*, all Men are born free: and this Liberty must still be supposed entire, unless so far as it is limited by Contracts, Provisions and Laws. For a Man can either bind himself to be a Servant, or sell himself to be a Slave, by which he becomes in the power of another, only so far as it was provided by the Contract: since all that Liberty which was not expressly given away, remains still entire: so that the

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II. It is no less certain, that as the Light of Nature has planted in all Men a Natural Principle of the Love of Life, and of a desire to preserve it; so the common Principles of all Religion agree in this, that God having set us in this World, we are bound to preserve that Being, which he has given us, by all just and lawful ways. Now this Duty of Self-preservation is exerted in Instances of two sorts; the one are, in the resisting of violent Aggressors; the other are the taking of just Revenges of those, who have invaded us so secretly, that we could not prevent them, and so violently that we could not resist them: In which cases the Principle of self-Preservation warrants us, both to recover what is our own, with just Damages, and also to put such unjust Persons out of a Capacity of doing the like Injuries any more, either to our selves, or to any others. Now in these Instances of Self-Preservation, this difference is to be observed; that the first cannot be limited by any slow Forms, since a pressing Danger requires a vigorous Repulse, and cannot admit of Delays; whereas the second, of taking Revenges, or Reparations, is not of such haste, but that it may be brought under Rules and Forms.

III. The true and Original Notion of *Civil Society* and *Government*, is, that it is a Compromise made by such a Body of Men, by which they resign up the Right of demanding Reparations, either in the way of Justice against one another, or in the way of War, against their Neighbours; to such a single Person, or to such a Body of Men as they think fit to trust with this. And in the management of this *Civil Society*, great distinctions is to be made, between the Power of making Laws for the regulating the Conduct of it, and the Power of executing those Laws: The *Supream Authority* must still be supposed to be lodged with those who have the *Legislative Power* reserved to them, but not with those who have only the *Executive*; which is plainly a *Trust*, when it is separated from the *Legislative Power*; and all *Trusts*, by their nature import, that those to whom they are given, are accountable, even though that it should not be expressly specified in the words of the *Trust* it self.

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IV. It cannot be supposed, by the Principles of Natural Religion, that God has authorised any one *Form of Government*, any other way than as the general Rules of Order, and of Justice, oblige all Men not to subvert Constitutions, nor disturb the Peace of Mankind, or invade those Rights which the Law may have vested some Persons : for it is certain, that as private Contracts lodg or translate private Rights ; so the *Publick Laws* can likewise lodg such Rights, Prerogatives and Revenues in those under whose Protection they put themselves, and in such a manner, that they may come to have as good a Title to these, as any private Person can have to his Property : so that it becomes an Act of high Injustice and Violence to invade these : which is so far a greater Sin than any such Actions would be against a private Person, as the publick Peace and Order is preferable to all private Considerations whatsoever. So that in Truth, the Principles of *Natural Religion*, give those that are in Authority no Power at all, but they do only secure them in the Possession of that which is theirs by Law. And as no Considerations of Religion can bind me to pay another more than I indeed owe him, but do only bind me more strictly to pay what I owe ; so the Considerations of Religion do indeed bring *Subjects* under stricter Obligations to pay all due Allegiance and Submission to their *Princes*, but they do not at all extend that Allegiance further than the Law carries it. And though a Man has no Divine Right to his Property, but has acquired it by human means, such as Succession, or Industry, yet he has a Security for the Enjoyment of it, from a Divine Right ; so the *Princes* have no immediate Warrants from Heaven, either for their Original Titles, or for the extent of them, yet they are secured in the Possession of them by the Principles and Rules of *Natural Religion*.

V. It is to be considered, that as a private Person can bind himself to another Man's Service, by different degrees, either as an ordinary Servant for Wages, or as one appropriate for a longer time, as an Apprentice ; or by a total giving himself up to another, as in the case of Slavery : in all which cases the general Name of *Master* may be equally used, yet the degrees of his Power, are to be judged by the nature of the Contract : so likewise Bodies of Men can give themselves up in

different degrees to the Conduct of others: and therefore though all those may carry the same Name of *King*, yet every ones Power is to be taken from the measures of that Authority which is lodged in him, and not from any general Speculations founded on some Equivocal Terms, such as *King*, *Sovereign*, or *Supream*.

VI. It is certain, that God, as the Creator and Governour of the World, may set up whom he will to rule over other Men: But this Declaration of his Will must be made evident by Prophets, or other extraordinary Men sent of him, who have some manifest proofs of the Divine Authority that is committed to them on such occasions, and upon such Persons declaring the Will of God in favour of any others, that Declaration is to be submitted to and obeyed. But this pretence of a Divine Delegation, can be carried no further than to those who are thus expressly marked out, and is unjustly claimed by those who can prove no such Declaration to have been ever made in favour of them or their Families. Nor does it appear reasonable to conclude from their being in Possession, that it is the Will of God that it should be so, this justifies all Usurpers when they are successful.

VII. The measures of *Power*, and by consequence of *Obedience*, must be taken from the express Laws of any State or Body of Men, from the Oaths that they swear, or from immemorial Prescription, and a long Possession, which both give a Title, and in a long Tract of Time make a bad one become good, since Prescription, when it passes the Memory of Man, and is not disputed by any other Pretender, gives by the common Sense of all Men a just and good Title: so upon the whole matter, the degrees of all Civil Authority are to be taken either from express Laws, immemorial Customs, or from particular Oaths, which the Subjects swear to their Princes: this being still to be laid down for a Principle, that in all the Disputes between *Power* and *Liberty*, *Power* must allways be proved, but *Liberty* proves it self; the one being founded on'y upon a Positive Law, and the other upon the Law of Nature.

VIII. If from the general Principles of Human Society, and Natural Religion, we carry this matter to be examined by the Scriptures, it is clear that all the Passages that are in the Old

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Testament, are not to be made use of in this matter of neither side. For as the Land of *Canaan* was given to the *Jews* by an immediate Grant from Heaven; so God referreth still this to himself, and to the Declarations that he should make from time to time, either by his Prophets, or by the Answers that came from the Cloud of Glory that was between the Cherubims, to set up Judges or Kings over them, and to pull them down again as he thought fit. Here was an express Delegation made by God, and therefore all that was done in that Dispensation, either for or against Princes, is not to be made use of in any other State that is founded on another Bottom and Constitution, and all the Expressions in the Old Testament relating to *Kings*, since they belong to Persons that were immediately designed by God, are without any sort of Reason applied to those who can pretend to no such Designation, neither for themselves nor for their Ancestors.

IX. As for the New Testament, it is plain, that there are no Rules given in it, neither for the *Forms of Government* in general, nor for the degrees of any one Form in particular, but the general Rules of Justice, Order and Peace, being established in it upon higher Motives, and more binding Considerations, than ever they were in any other Religion whatsoever, we are most strictly bound by it to observe the Constitution in which we are; and it is plain, that the Rules set us in the Gospel can be carried no further. It is indeed clear from the New Testament, that the Christian Religion as such, gives us no grounds to defend or propagate it by force. It is a Doctrine of the Cross, and of Faith, and Patience under it: And if by the order of Divine Providence, and of any Constitution of Government, under which we are born, we are brought under Sufferings for our professing of it, we may indeed retire and fly out of any such Country if we can; but if that is denied us, we must then, according to this Religion, submit to those Sufferings under which we may be brought, considering that God will be glorified by us in so doing, and that he will both support us under our Sufferings, and gloriously reward us for them.

This was the State of the *Christian Religion*, during the three first *Centuries*, under Heathen *Emperors*, and a Constitution in which *Paganism* was establish'd by Law. But if by the  
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*Law* of any Government, the *Christian Religion*, or any Form of it, is become a part of the Subjects *Property*, it then falls under another Consideration; not as it is a *Religion*, but as it is become one of the principal Rights of the Subjects to believe and profess it: and then we must judg of the Invasions made on that, as we do of any other Invasion that is made on our other *Rights*.

X. All the Passages in the *New Testament* that relate to *Civil Government*, are to be expounded as they were truly meant, in opposition to that false Notion of the *Jews*, who believed themselves to be so immediately under the Divine Authority, that they could not become the Subjects of any other Power, particularly of one that was not of their Nation, or of their Religion; therefore they thought they could not be under the *Roman Yoke*, nor bound to pay Tribute to *Cesar*, but judged that they were only subject out of *Fear*, by reason of the force that lay on them, but not for *Conscience sake*: And so in all their Dispersion, both at *Rome* and elsewhere, they thought they were *God's Freemen*, and made use of this pretended *Liberty as a Cloak of Maliciousness*. In opposition to all which, since in a course of many Years, they had asked the Protection of the *Roman Yoke*, and were come under their Authority, our Saviour ordered them to continue in that, by his saying, *Render to Cesar that which is Cesar's*; and both *St. Paul* in his *Epistle to the Romans*, and *St. Peter* in his general *Epistle*, have very positively condemned that pernicious Maxim, but without any formal Declarations made of the Rules or Measures of *Government*. And since both the *People* and *Senate* of *Rome* had acknowledged the Power that *Augustus* had indeed violently usurped, it became Legal when it was thus submitted to, and confirmed both by the *Senate* and *People*: and it was established in his Family by a long Prescription, when those *Epistles* were writ: So that upon the whole Matter, all that is in the *New Testament* upon this Subject, imports no more, but that all *Christians* are bound to acquiesce in the *Government*, and submit to it, according to the Constitution that is settled by *Law*.

XI. We are then at last brought to the Constitution of our English Government: so that no general Considerations from Speculations about Sovereign Power, nor from any Passages, either

either of the *Old* and *New Testament*, ought to determine us in this Matter ; which must be fixed from the Laws and Regulations that have been made among us. It is then certain, that with Relation to the Executive part of the Government, the Law has lodged that singly in the King ; so that the whole Administration of it is in him ; but the Legislative Power is lodged between the King and the two Houses of Parliament ; so that the Power of making and repealing Laws, is not singly in the King, but only so far as the two Houses concur with him. It is also clear, that the King has such a determined extent of Prerogative, beyond which he has no Authority : As for Instance, if he levies Money of his People, without a Law impowering him to it, he goes beyond the Limits of his Power, and asks that to which he has no Right : So that there lies no Obligation on the Subject to grant it ; and if any in his Name use Violence for the obtaining it, they are to be looked on as so many Robbers, that invade our Property ; and they being violent Aggressors, the Principle of Self-Preservation seems here to take place, and to warrant as violent a Resistance.

XII. There is nothing more evident, than that *England* is a Free Nation, that has its Liberties and Properties reserved to it, by many positive and express Laws : If then we have a Right to our Property, we must likewise be supposed to have a Right to preserve it : for those Rights are by the Law secured against the Invasions of the Prerogative, and by consequence we must have a Right to preserve them against those Invasions. It is also evidently declared by our Law, that all Orders and Warrants that are issued out in opposition to them, are null of themselves ; and by consequence, any that pretend to have Commissions from the King for those Ends, are to be considered as if they had none at all ; since those Commissions being void of themselves, are indeed no Commissions in the Construction of the Law ; and therefore those who act in virtue of them, are still to be considered as private Persons who come to invade and disturb us. It is also to be observed, that there are some Points that are justly disputable and doubtful, and others that are so manifest, that it is plain that any Objections that can be made to them, are rather forced Pretences, than so much as plausible Colours. It is true, if the Case is doubtful, the Interest of the publick Peace and Order ought to carry it ; but

but the Case is quite different, when the Invasions that are made upon *Liberty* and *Property*, are plain and visible to all that consider them.

XIII. The main and great Difficulty here, is, that though our Government does indeed assert the *Liberty of the Subject*, yet there are many express Laws made, that lodge the *Militia* singly in the King, that make it plainly unlawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King, or any Commissioned by him : And these Laws have been put in the Form of an Oath, which all that have born any Employment, either in Church or State, have sworn ; and therefore those Laws for the assuring our *Liberties*, do indeed bind the King's Conscience, and may affect his Ministers ; yet since it is a Maxim of our Law, that the *King can do no wrong*, these cannot be carried so far as to justify our taking Arms against him, be the Transgressions of Law ever so many and so manifest. And since this has been the constant *Doctrine* of the *Church of England*, it will be a very heavy Imputation on us, if it appears, that though we held those Opinions, as long as the Court and Crown have favoured us, yet as soon as the Court turns against us, We change our Principles.

XIV. Here is the true Difficulty of this whole Matter, and therefore it ought to be exactly considered : *First*, All general Words, how large soever, are still supposed to have a tacit Exception and reserve in them, if the Matter seems to require it. Children are commanded to obey their Parents in *all things* : Wives are declared by the Scripture, to be subject to their Husbands in *all things*, as the Church is unto Christ : And yet how comprehensive soever these words may seem to be, there is still a reserve to be understood in them ; and though by our Form of Marriage, the Parties swear to one another *till Death them do part*, yet few doubt but that this Bond is dissolved by Adultery, though it is not named ; for odious things ought not to be suspected, and therefore not named upon such occasions : But when they fall out, they carry still their own force with them. 2. When there seems to be a Contradiction between two Articles in the Constitution, we ought to examine which of the two is the most Evident, and the most Important, and so we ought to fix upon it, and then we must give such an accommodating sense to that which seems to contradict it, that



So we may reconcile those together. Here then are two seeming Contradictions in our Constitution; The one is the *Publick Liberty* of the Nation; the other is the Renouncing of all *Resistance*, in case that were invaded. It is plain, that our *Liberty* is only a thing that we enjoy at the *King's* Discretion, and during his Pleasure, if the other against all Resistance is to be understood according to the utmost extent of the Words. Therefore since the chief Design of our whole Law, and of all the several Rules of our Constitution, is to secure and maintain our *Liberty*, we ought to lay that down for a Conclusion, that it is both the most plain and the most important of the two. And therefore the other Article against *Resistance* ought to be so softened as that it do not destroy us.

3. Since it is by a Law that *Resistance* is condemned, we ought to understand it in such a sense as that it does not destroy all other Laws: And therefore the intent of this Law, must only relate to the *Executive Power*, which is in the *King*, and not to the *Legislative*, in which we cannot suppose that our Legislators, who made that Law, intended to give up that, which we plainly see they resolved still to preserve entire, according to the Ancient Constitution. So then, the not resisting the *King*, can only be applied to the *Executive Power*, that so upon no pretence of ill Administrations in the Execution of the Law, it should be lawful to resist him; but this cannot with any reason be extended to an Invasion of the *Legislative Power*, or to a total *Subversion of the Government*. For it being plain, that the Law did not design to lodge that Power in the *King*, it is also plain, that it did not intend to secure him in it, in case he should set about it.

4. The Law mentioning the *King*, or those *Commissioned* by him, shews plainly, that it only designed to secure the *King* in the Executive Power: for the word *Commission* necessarily imports this, since if it is not according to Law, it is no *Commission*; and by Consequence, those who act in virtue of it, are not Commissionated by the *King* in the Sense of the Law. The *King* likewise imports a Prince clothed by Law with the Regal Prerogative; but if he goes to *subvert* the whole Foundation of the Government, he *subverts* that by which he himself has his Power, and by consequence he annuls his own Power; and then he

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ceases to be *King*, having endeavoured to destroy that upon which his own Authority is founded.

XV. It is acknowledged by the greatest Assertors of Monarchical Power, that in some Cases a *King* may fall from his Power, and in other Cases that he may fall from the Exercise of it. His Deserting his People; his going about to enslave, or sell them to any other; or a furious going about to destroy them, are in the opinion of the most Monarchical Lawyers, such Abuses, that they naturally divest those that are guilty of them, of their whole Authority. *Infancy* or *Phrenzy* do also put them under the Guardianship of others. All the Crowned Heads of *Europe* have, at least secretly, approved of the putting the late *King of Portugal* under a Guardianship, and the keeping him still a Prisoner for a few Acts of Rage, that had been fatal to a very few Persons: And even our Court gave the first countenance to it, though of all others the late *King* had the least reason to have done it, at least last of all, since it justified a younger Brother's supplanting the Elder; yet the Evidence of the Thing carried it even against Interest. Therefore if a *King* goes about to subvert the Government, and to overturn the whole Constitution, he by this must be supposed, either to fall from his Power, or at least from the Exercise of it, so far as that he ought to be put under Guardians; and according to the Case of *Portugal*, the next Heir falls naturally to be the Guardian.

XVI. The next Thing to be considered, is to see in Fact whether the Foundations of this *Government* have been struck at, and whether those Errors that have been perhaps committed, are only such Maleversations as ought to be imputed only to human Frailty, and to the Ignorance, Inadvertencies, or Passions to which all Princes may be subject, as well as other Men. But this will best appear, if we consider what are the Fundamental Points of our Government, and the chief Securities that we may have for our Liberties.

The Authority of the Law is indeed all in one word, so that if the *King* pretends to a Power to dispense with Laws, there is nothing left upon which the Subject can depend; and yet as if the Dispensing Power were not enough, if Laws are wholly suspended for all Time coming, this is plainly a repealing of them,



them, when likewise the Men, in whose Hands the Administration of Justice is put by Law, such as Judges and Sheriffs, are allowed to tread all Laws under-foot, even those that infer an Incapacity on themselves if they violate them; this is such a breaking of the whole Constitution, that we can no more have the Administration of Justice, so that it is really a Dissolution of the Government; since all Trials, Sentences, and the Executions of them, are become so many unlawful Acts, that are null and void of themselves.

The next Thing in our Constitution, which secures to us our *Laws and Liberties*, is a *Free and Lawful Parliament*. Now, not to mention the breach of the *Law of Triennial Parliaments*, it being above three Years since we had a Session that enacted any Law; Methods have been taken, and are daily a taking, that render this impossible. *Parliaments* ought to be chosen with an entire Liberty, and without either Force or Preingagements: whereas if all Men are required before-hand to enter into Engagements how they will vote if they are chosen themselves, or how they will give their Voices in the Electing of others? This is plainly such a preparation to a *Parliament*, as would indeed make it no *Parliament*, but a *Cabal*, if one were chosen, after all that Corruption of Persons who had preingaged themselves, and after the Threatening and Turning out of all Persons out of Impleiments who had refused to do it: And if there are such daily Regulations made in the Towns, that it is plain those who manage them, intend at last to put such a number of Men in the Corporations, as will certainly chuse the Persons who are recommended to them. But above all, if there are such a number of Sheriffs and Mayors made over *England*, by whom the Elections must be conducted and returned, who are now under an Incapacity by Law, and so are no legal Officers, and by consequence those Elections that pass under their Authority are null and void: If, I say, it is clear that things are brought to this, then the Government is dissolved, because it is impossible to have a *Free and Legal Parliament* in this state of things. If then both the Authority of the *Law*, and the Constitution of the *Parliament* are struck at and dissolved, here is a plain Subversion of the whole Government. But if we enter next into the particular Branches of

the Government, we will find the like Disorder among them all.

The *Protestant Religion*, and the *Church of England* make a great Article of our Government, the latter being secured, not only of old by *Magna Charta*, but by many special *Laws* made of late; and there are particular *Laws* made in *K. Charles* the First, and the late King's Time, securing them from all Commissions that the King can raise for Judging or Censuring them. If then in opposition to this, a Court so condemned is erected, which proceeds to Judge and Censure the Clergy, and even to dispossess them of their *Free-holds*, without so much as the form of a Trial, though this is the most indispensable *Law* of all those that secures the Property of *England*; and if the King pretends that he can require the Clergy to publish all his Arbitrary *Declarations*, and in particular one that strikes at their whole Settlement, and has ordered Process to be begun against all that disobey'd this illegal Warrant, and has treated so great a number of the Bishops as Criminals, only for representing to him the Reasons of their not obeying him; If likewise the King is not satisfied to profess his own Religion openly, though even that is contrary to *Law*, but has sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, and received Nuncios from thence, which is plainly Treason by *Law*; If likewise many *Papish* Churches and Chappels have been publicly opened; if several Colledges of *Jesuits* have been set up in divers parts of the Nation, and one of the Order has been made a Privy Counsellor, and a principal Minister of State: And if *Papists*, and even those who turn to that Religion, though declared Traitors by *Law*, are brought into all the chief Imploiments, both Military and Civil; then it is plain, That all the Rights of the *Church of England*, and the whole Establishment of the *Protestant Religion* are struck at, and design'd to be overturned; since all these Things, as they are notoriously illegal, so they evidently demonstrate, That the great Design of them all, is the rooting out of this Pestilent Heresy, in their stile, I mean, the *Protestant Religion*.

In the next place, If in the whole course of Justice, it is visible that there is a constant practising upon the Judges, that they are turned out upon their varying from the Intentions of  
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the Court; and if Men of no Reputation nor Abilities are put in their places; If an Army is kept up in time of Peace, and Men who withdraw from that illegal Service, are hanged up as Criminals, without any colour of Law, which, by consequence, are so many Murders; and if the Souldiery are connived at and encouraged in the most enormous Crimes, that so they may be thereby prepared to commit greater ones, and from single Rapes and Murders proceed to a Rape upon all our Liberties, and a Destruction of the Nation: If, I say, all these things are true in Fact; then it is plain, that there is such a Dissolution of the Government made, that there is not any one part of it left sound and entire: And if all these things are done now, it is eadie to imagine what may be expected, when *Arbitrary Power*, that spares no Man, and *Papery* that spares no Heretick, are finally established: Then we may look for nothing but Gabelles, Tailles, Impositions, Benevolences, and all sorts of Illegal Taxes; as from the other we may expect Burnings, Massacres, and Inquisitions. In what is doing in *Scotland* we may gather what is to be expected in *England*; where if the King has over and over again declared, that he is vested with an *Absolute Power*, to which all are bound to *obey without reserve*, and has upon that annulled almost all the Acts of Parliament that passed in K. *James I.* Minority, though they were ratified by himself when he came to be of Age, and were confirmed by all the subsequent Kings, not excepting the present. We must then conclude from thence, what is resolved on here in *England*, and what will be put in Execution as soon as it is thought that the Times can bear it. When likewise the whole Settlement of *Ireland* is shaken, and the Army that was raised, and is maintained by Taxes that were given for an Army of *English Protestants*, to secure them from a new *Massacre* by the *Irish Papists*, is now all filled with *Irish Papists*, as well as almost all the other Employments; it is plain, that not only all the *British Protestants* inhabiting that Island, are in daily danger of being butchered a second time, but that the *Crown of England* is in danger of losing that Island, it being now put wholly into the Hands and Power of the Native *Irish*, who as they formerly offered themselves up sometimes to the Crown of *Spain*, sometimes to the *Pope*, and once

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to the Duke of *Lorrain*, so are they perhaps at this present treating with another *Court* for the Sale and Surrender of the Island, and for the Massacre of the *English* in it.

If thus all the several Branches of our Constitution are dissolved, it might be at least expected that one part should be left entire, and that is the *Regal Dignity*: But concerning the Birth of the supposed Prince of *Wales*, no Proofs were ever given either to the Princess of *Denmark*, or to any other Protestant Ladies, in whom we ought to repose any Confidence that the *Queen* was ever with Child; that whole Matter being managed with so much Mysteriousness, that there were violent and publick Suspicions of it before. But the whole Contrivance of the Birth, the sending away the Princess of *Denmark*, the sudden shortning of the *Reckoning*, the *Queen's* sudden going to *St. James's*, her no less sudden pretended Delivery; the hurrying the Child into another Room without shewing it to those present, and without their hearing it cry; and the mysterious Conduct of all since that time; no Satisfaction being given to the Princess of *Denmark* upon her Return from the *Bath*, nor to any other Protestant Ladies, of the *Queen's* having been really brought to Bed. These are all such evident Indications of an Imposture in this Matter, that as the Nation has the justest Reason in the World to doubt of it, so they have all possible Reason to be at no quiet till they see a Legal and Free Parliament assembled, which may impartially, and without either Fear or Corruption, examine that whole Matter.

If all these Matters are true in Fact, then I suppose no Man will doubt, that the whole Foundations of this Government, and all the most sacred Parts of it, are overturned. And as to the Truth of all these Suppositions, that is left to every *Englishman's* Judgment and Sense.

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An ANSWER to a PAPER, intituled, *Reflections on the Prince of ORANGES Declaration.*

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IT seems a strange piece of Arrogance that any Man should reflect on a Declaration, because it does not begin as he would have it; that is, with a Manifestation of our Clandestine League with *France*, whereby an Army of *Frenchmen*, together with our *Papists*, *Irish*, and other Mercenaries, might establish Popery in *England*. The Reflector ought to have consider'd, that a Clandestine League, tho' it may be very notorious to its Existence and Effects, may likewise be very difficult to prove, according to the meaning of the word Clandestine. But that there is such a one, we have the Testimony of the King of *France*, in a Memorial delivered to the States of *Holland*; and though it has been since disowned by our Court, and Mr. *Skelton* upon it committed to the Tower; his short Confinement, and sudden Advancement to a Regiment, shews that his Disgrace was but a trick of State: It is also an inconsequential way of Arguing, that because the Prince does not begin his Declaration with it, therefore there is no such League, things of that high consequence being easier and better carried on by secret Messâges, than Writings under Hand and Seal.

2. In his second Reflection, he tells us the Prince had needed less Apology, if he had pretended only to have come to deliver the King from Evil Counsellours, and to ingage him further in the Interest of *Europe*; forgetting the Prince does declare to us he comes for that end, tho' not singly, and brought over his Army to secure him from the Rage and Fury of those Evil Counsellours. His next Quarrel is, that the Prince uses the Stile, *Of We and Us within His Majesties Dominions*; a thing,

thing, I believe, ordinary enough in Great Princes, when they speak, or write to their Inferiours. The Prince of *Orange* is General of a great & numerous Army, Admiral of a vast Fleet, State-holder to a High and Mighty Common-wealth, and consequently, too great to speak in the Stile of a Private Person ; so that Rewarding, Punishing, Commanding, Advancing, may very naturally fall within his Power. Nor is it any Crime to endeavour the calling of a Free Parliament, and settling the Nation, tho by ways and methods unusual in our days, nothing being more frequent in our Histories, than for our Barons, wth Arms in their Hands, to compel their Kings to call and hearken to their Parliaments : But now there being a standing Army of fourty thousand Mercenaries in the Land, it was grown a Crime to petition for a Parliament, and a Folly to expect a free one, new Charters and Corporations, and a general Nomination of incompetent Magistrates, having taken the Election of Members for Parliament out of those Hands, the Laws of the Land, and Memorial Custom, had intrusted with them. According to the new Scheme designed by those Upstart and Popish Counsellours, no Man was to Elect, or be Electd for Parliament, that would not ingage, as far as in them lay, to take away the *Penal Laws and Test* ; nay, those wicked Counsellors prevailed yet farther upon his Majesty ; and he that pardoned so many of his Enemies, was not suffered to forgive his best Friends, and most Loyal Subjects a Refusal or Excuse in that particular.

That the Prince will send back his Army, seems to some a strong presumption that he will not stay behind, since even our own lawful King thinks himself not safe without an Army of Mercenaries in his own Kingdom. From a strain'd Phrase or two, *Of We and Us, Require and Command*, sometimes used in his Declaration, to infer, That the Prince of *Orange* intends to make himself King of *England*, seems to all rational Men a very captious and unsatisfactory way of arguing, and a very unjust Calumny cast upon so great a Prince, since more than once in express terms, he declares he has no design upon his Majesty's Crown or Person, so that all that Reproach falls to the Ground.

3. In his third Reflection, he tells us the Prince wants a clear Call, and that a Son against a Father, a Nephew against

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and Uncle, a Neighbour against a Neighbour, cannot be such: That he is a Son-in-Law, and a Nephew to his Present Majesty, gives the Prince a fair and just pretence to interpose in our Affairs: had he been a Foreigner, as our *Reflector* terms him, it might have look'd like an intended Conquest; had he not been a Neighbour, it had been impossible for him to have afforded us this seasonable Assistance. But some think, that where Attempts are made to introduce the Catholick Religion, by a Conspiracy against the Laws that secure and establish the Protestant Religion and the Test, that only can keep the Papists out of the Government: And to carry on this Conspiracy the better, the old Charters are taken away under pretence of Forfeiture and Surrender; new ones granted, such as might bring Elections within the Power of those Evil Counsellors; Papists upon the Bench, a Jesuit in the Council, and whole Troops of them in the Army: 'Twas high time for a Protestant Prince, that had so near relation to the Crown of *England*, to look about him, and choose rather to be censured by our Reflector, and such as he, for entering upon the Stage a little before his time, than be justly reproach'd and curs'd to the End of the World, by all such as love the Protestant Religion, and ancient Government of *England*, for appearing too late in their Defence. The Example of *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, may teach us how hard it is for a Protestant Prince to obtain his Right, where the Catholick Religion is predominant; nor was the new Armour of Popery he put on at last, sufficient to defend the old Protestant against the Stab of a Jesuited *Novissime*.

4. His fourth Reflection acquaints us, the Protestant Religion is at once expos'd and hazarded; for if the King prevail, what can the Prince of *Orange's* sort of Protestants expect at his Hands, which are indeed all sorts of Protestants that I know of, for the *Presbyterians*, *Independants*, *Phanatics*, *Church-of-England-Men*, are in his Army: 'Tis fair warning, and I hope God will give the Protestants Grace to make the right use of it: As for their changing Masters, 'tis a *Chimera* of his own, and utterly foreign to the Declaration he pretends to reflect upon. Lest we should forget, he reminds us with that admirable Demonstration of, *I say, that the whole Protestant Religion is at stake*; for which I heartily

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thank our worthy Reflector, for tho it be very true, we had not seen it in Print but for him.

5. In his fifth Reflection, he tells us that some Laws are better broken than kept, which will not be easily granted; 'tis indeed true, that some Laws were better be repealed than continued: But then they must be null'd by the same Power they were constituted, and not by any part of it in contradiction to the whole.

His instance is, That Christianity could not have been introduc'd had the *Pagan* Laws been executed; by which Parallel he would warrant Popery to be the true Christianity, and the Protestant the Heathen Persecutors; Laws for Idolatry cannot bind, therefore Laws against it cannot; a very strange Inference, and I allow that a Lawful Authority by exceeding their just Bounds, may act unlawfully, but the Legislative Power cannot, since all over the World the Supream Power ever was absolute, be it in one or more. He says, no Man is obliged to maintain a Religion that is not true, be it never so legally established: So that it is but saying the Protestant Religion is not true, and His Majesty, notwithstanding his repeated Engagements, is no longer bound to protect it. For in the words of our Reflector 'tis an Absurdity and Impiety to do so.

6. The sixth thing considerable in our Reflector is, his Defence of the Dispensing Power, and the use His Majesty, seduc'd by his Evil Counsellors, makes of it; which is no other than the setting aside of all our Laws made for the Security of the Protestant Religion; but sure such a Prerogative can never be legally vested in the Crown, which, if admitted, were the destruction of all Law.

Had those Evil Counsellors only prevailed with his Majesty, to have dispensed with the Penalties inflicted on Catholics and other Dissenters, for serving of God according to their particular Consciences, though perhaps contrary to Law, the matter had never been complained of: But to put them into Places of the highest Trust, to make one Lieutenant of *Ireland*, another President of the Council, a third Lieutenant General of the Tower, a fourth a Judge; employing numbers of them in the Army, Court, &c. is a Transgression of the Law, which is certainly very dangerous,



if not immediately, yet inevitable in its Consequences to the Protestant Religion and Government, and therefore a Mischief remote only (as an Egg is from a Chicken) from the worthy Reflector's *Malum in se*, which he acknowledges this Dispensing Power extends not to. And the particular Catholicks breaking the Law in these Points, are without Excuse: For no Man is obliged in Conscience to be a Judge, a Priest, a Minister, a Privy-Councillor, a Courtier, or a Souldier in time of Peace, contrary to the Laws of the Land. Nor do those Laws deprive the King of the Service of any of his Subjects absolutely; since all Men, if they please, may capacitate themselves for Employment. If the High-Commission-Court be at an end, *Magdalen-Colledge* and the Bishop of London restored, we may in all appearance thank the Honesty and Caution of some of its worthy Members, and the Noise of what our Reflector calls the Prince of *Orange's* Invasion; though some will say, a Descent upon *England* made by a Prince of the Blood, Married to the Eldest Daughter of the present King, upon the Invitation of many Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, and of the considerable Gentry, Commonalty of all Counties, might have deserved a fairer Name. Nor ought any Man to complain if his honest Neighbour break violently into his House at a time when his Family cry out Fire or Murder; the common Obligation of Humanity, and a due care of their own Preservation, exact no less of them. But this Paper is not intended for a Vindication of the Prince, I will therefore return to my Reflector again, who undertakes for all good Protestants that they only refus'd to repeal the Test, by reason of the Security it affords to their Religion. As if they had cast off all care of their Civil Concerns, and were only intent upon Religious Affairs, so as to consent to give his Majesty a Majority of Papists in the House of Lords; by which he might have two Negative Voices upon all Laws to be offer'd: and an House of Peers ready to repeal the *Habeas Corpus* Bill, and such Statutes as any ways seem to incumber what Papists think his Majesties Prerogative, of which they maintain the Dispensing Power to be an Essential Part; and well they may, since it is the very Power, by which he maintains them in Places and Employments: So that by leave of my worthy Reflector, the Considerations of Religion, tho

they are the principal, are not the only Reasons, that have determined all good Protestants to a Non-concurrence with his Majesty in the Repeal of the Test.

8. In his eighth Reflection he tells us, That Chappels are places of Devotion; so are *Turks* Mosques, and the *Jews* Synagogues, yet no good Christian but would be offended to see them multiply'd and encouraged, either in his own, or his Neighbours Country.

9. In his ninth he tells us, The King was content the Test should remain. I answer, These Evil Counsellors were not content the Test should remain, but sent their Regulators and other Agents, to threaten, promise, remove and change the Magistrates in all Corporations in order to the procuring Members of Parliament, such as were to enter the House under solemn Promises, and firm Resolutions, to take off the Penal Laws and Test, notwithstanding all the weighty, nay, convincing Arguments they might meet with there to the contrary: A desperate sort of Senators, and fitter for *Catalines* Conspiracies than an *English* Parliament. Nor did these Evil Counsellors cease to solicit even Knights of the Shire, till the general Indignation their Proposals met with, together with the Noise of the Prince of *Orange's* Preparations, frightened them from a further prosecution of their enormous Attempts. He ingenuously confesses the seizing of Charters to have been a fault, so there is no Contest between us on that Point; but he adds, That the Prince of *Orange* has nothing to do with it; now others think him highly concern'd in it; for if, according to Sir *Thomas Moore, Rex Potest Juris per Parta mentem & potest & destrui*; or according to the Opinion of latter Times, a Parliament may make a Bill of Exclusion; a Prince that has so near a Relation to the Crown of *England*, ought not to suffer any foul play in the calling together such an Assembly as may null his Title, or preclude him of his Right to the Crown in time to come. 'Tis true, the Counsel for seizing Charters was given in the last King's Reign, and most of them then seized, but no Man can deny but some have been condemned and seized in the Reign of his present Majesty, and restored not till the Apprehension of the afore-said Invasion; so that we are promised a Free Parliament, only because they cannot put one of their own framing upon us.

10. His tenth Paragraph needs no answer.  
 11. In his eleventh, he tells us there were but two Papist Judges, as if the Laws were not broken unless the Judges were all Papists; or that Judges sitting contrary to Law could give a Legal Sentence. Both these defects he supposes supplied by the *Dispensing Power*, a Power sufficiently baffled by those Gentlemen of the long Robe of Counsel for the Bishops, and not defended by either Judges or Counsel on the other side; for which two of the Judges, *Jones* and *Holloway*, lost their places on the Bench.

12, 13. His twelfth and thirteenth concern *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and therefore I will leave them untouched, to the Gentlemen of those Nations, who best understand, and are most sensible of the Oppressions they are under.

14. In his fourteenth, he pleads the Validity of the King's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, tho' that pretended *Prerogative* has been discuss'd and baffled in *Parliament*, within these few years, and deserted as such by His late Majesty; he affirms, that the King, as Head of the Church, might oblige the Bishops to cause the Declaration to be read in the Churches, which if they had complied with, in the Opinion of many good *Protestants*, they had precluded themselves of their Votes in *Parliament* against it; for with what Forehead could they Vote against the Declaration, when they caused it to be read in their Churches? An Act amounting to no less than maintaining, or owning, the *Dispensing Power*.

15. In his fifteenth, he allows the *Prince* and *Princess* of *Orange*, have, in terms full of respect, signified to the King their deep regret which all these things have given them, and their Thoughts about Repealing the *Test* and *Penal Laws* as an Expedient of Peace; but blames him, it seems, for doing all this so respectfully and privately, and would rather had it done by a *Manifesto*, that some of the *Prince's* Friends might be imprisoned for delivering it, as Captain *Lenham* is for bringing over the Declaration. He tells us next, the King has come up almost to *Fagel's* Letter, which was the Declaration of their Minds, viz. The Church-of-England-Test, and Laws of Supremacy to remain; then urging the King's Concessions, which may be observ'd to bear date only from the report of the *Prince's* Preparations for *England*.

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16. He tells us in his sixteenth, That the *Prince* thinks a *Free Parliament* to be the last and great Remedy for these Evils; but complains these Wicked Counsellors are against it, for fear of being called to Account, that they had preingaged Voices to take off the *Penal Laws* and the *Test*; and regulated Corporations and Burroughs, that so they might assure themselves of the Members of *Parliament*. He allows the Charge, but says, What has all this to do with the King? No Man says it has, and the *Prince* only requires the removal and punishment of those Evil Counsellors in a *Free Parliament*.

17. Next our Reflector tells, That there never was a *Parliament* absolutely *Free*, but that Drink, Money, and other Evil Arts, have had a great sway in Elections. This is true, but no reason that we should consent to a General or Fundamental Corruption of our Elections, because we cannot avoid some few and casual Ones. Then he would have had the *Prince* have desired the King to have laid aside those Evil Counsellors, as if it were not Notorious, that the *Princes* dislike of some Men has been their ready way to Preferment in our Court; and Embassadors for *Holland* have been, of late, chosen out of those he has most aversion for; as if these Wicked Counsellors feared nothing so much as a good Understanding between His Majesty and the *Prince of Orange*.

19. In the nineteenth he tells, The *Prince* and *Princess* of *Orange's* Question concerning the Birth of the *Prince of Wales*, saying, That during the *Queen's* pretended Bigness, and in the manner in which the Birth was managed, there have appear'd so many just and visible grounds of Suspicion, that not only the *Prince* himself, but all good Subjects in England, do vehemently suspect that the pretended *Prince of Wales* was not born of the *Queen*.

20. Next our Reflector tells us, That the *Prince* ought to have writ to the King for a private satisfaction in this Matter, which the King would no doubt have given in the manner that all reasonable Men do when they are examined against themselves. All Men allow the imputation of such an Imposture, to be a great Reflection on their present Majesty. But some think they have in a great measure drawn it upon themselves, by omitting to have those Witnesses by, and those Methods observed, that our Laws require to prove the Birth of a Legitimate *Prince of Wales*: 'Tis not perhaps enough to say, that there were as many

many Witnesses, and as good Proof of it as the Law exacts; still the Question returns, Why not the same Persons? a Legal Proof admits of no Equivalent.

Our Reflector will not deny, but that there has been common Fame all over *Europe*, that this Prince of *Wales* was not Born of the Body of her Majesty, and common belief of it among Protestants; this of it self were enough to make the next Heir to the Crown look about, and move every Stone that the Matter might be examined by impartial Methods in a *Free Parliament*, which is all that the Prince and Princess of *Orange* aims at; for their Proofs to the contrary, 'tis not to expected they should acquaint the World with them before the Trial.

22. In his two and twentieth Reflection on the eighteenth Paragraph, where the Prince says, *He was invited to this Expedition by many Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal; and many Gentlemen, and Subjects of all Ranks*: Our Reflector is pleased to tell him he is mistaken, as *Monmouth* was. Notwithstanding those eminent Peers, Gentry and Commonalty of all sorts that are already in his Camp, and such as are going daily, as well Souldiers as others; nor considering the great number of the Nobility that are in the Country and have not been examin'd, and that such as were examin'd here in Town, did no more than answer, Not Guilty to the Charge of High-Treason: So that there are more Nobility and Gentry with him than with his Majesty.

In his three and twentieth Reflection on the 19th and 20th Paragraph, where the Prince refers all to a free Parliament; our Reflector says it belongs not to him, to refer other Mens business; as if the Prince had no relation to the Crown: Then tells us we are already in possession of what the Prince promises us; as if the Catholicks were all out of employment, the Dispensing power given up, no standing Army, no apprehensions of Popery and Arbitrary Power, and a *Free Parliament* for redressing of Grievances of all kinds in being.

24. In the twenty fourth Reflection on the three last Paragraphs of the Prince's Declaration, he tells us, *The Prince has a manifest design upon the Crown, because he summons the Nobility, Gentry and People of England to his Standard: And if so, who must stay with the King?* To that may be answered, All such as believe the Prince of *Orange* has brought this Army, and in- tends

tends to make War upon *England* to subdue it to his meer will and pleasure, trample all Laws, both Divine and Humane, under his Fleet, dethrone his present Majesty, and make himself King; they will stay and fight for him, or at least to the best of their power, in some other manner assist and help him: On the contrary part, such as believe the *Prince* means nothing of all this, but brought over his Army only the better to assist the Nobility, Gentry, and People of *England*, upon their earnest desires, and frequent sollicitations, and reiterated complaints, in the recovering of the old Legal way of choosing Members for *Parliament*, which by Illegal new Charters, on pretended Forfeitures, was in a ready way to be for ever lost; in rescuing all the Laws of *England* from the devouring jaws of a *Dispensing Power*; in reducing *Popery* within those bounds the Law has prescribed it, which, like an Inundation, had so over-flowed its Banks, that our Religion and Government were in peril to be swallowed up by it; and finally, to redress these and all other grievances, if for these and no other ends or concerns Men think the *Prince* has landed here, such Men will take his part, espouse his quarrel, and contribute to his success: and in these cases every Man will judg for himself, as they did in our late Civil Wars.

Again, he charges the *Prince* with a design of Conquest; which not only the *Prince* himself disclaims throughout his Declaration, and will hereafter disown in all his Manifesto's; but the States of *Holland*, who have so vigorously assisted, and engaged themselves with all their Power and Credit, to maintain him in this Attempt, have assur'd us he left *Holland* under high and solemn Protestations to the contrary. All this is, I hope, sufficient to dash the strain'd inferences of an inconsiderable Reflector.

As for that impudent Calumny of *Perjury* he endeavours to fix upon the *Prince*, it needs no other refutation than a serious consideration of the Charge it self; his Words are, *The Prince of Orange swore to the States of Holland never to be their State-holder, tho' it were offered him, and yet is now that very State-holder he swore never to be on any terms.* Now let any reasonable Man consider, whether it be possible a Wise State should by an Oath given him, disable the *Prince of Orange* from being their State-holder, tho' Circumstances and times should so change,



change, that their immediate preservation and very existence of their State should require him to accept, and execute that Office. For his personal Reflections towards the latter end, I think very Impertinent, and only fit to be buried in Contempt.

Thus having followed my tedious Reflector through his twenty four Reflections, I take my leave of him, reserving the *Princes* farther Vindication to some time when I shall be more at leisure to write, and peole willing to read, than they can be under the present surprize, hourly expectation, and continual anxiety, for the event of this Heroick Enterprize.

*Admiral HERBERT's Letter to  
all Commanders of Ships and Sea-men  
in His Majesty's Fleet.*

*Gentlemen,*

I Have little to add to what his Highness has express'd in general Terms, besides laying before you the dangerous Way you are at the present in, where Ruin or Infamy must inevitably attend you if you don't join with the *Prince* in the Common Cause, for the Defence of your Religion and Liberties; for should it please God, for the Sins of the English Nation, to suffer your Arms to prevail, to what can your Victory serve you, but to enslave you deeper, and overthrow the True Religion, in which you have liv'd, and your Fathers dy'd? Of which, I beg you, as a Friend, to consider the Consequences, and to reflect on the Blot and Infamy it will bring on you, not only now, but in all After-Ages, That by Your means the *Protestant Religion* was destroy'd, and your Country depriv'd of its Ancient Liberties: And if it pleases God to bless the *Prince's* Endeavours with Success, as I don't doubt but he will, consider then what their Condition will be that

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oppose him in this so good a Design, where the greatest Favour they can hope for, is, their being suffer'd to end their Days in Misery and Want, detested and despised by all good Men.

It is therefore, and for many more Reasons too long to insert here, that I, as a true English-man and your Friend, exhort you to join your Arms to the *Prince* for the Defence of the Common Cause, the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of your Country. It is what I am well assured the *major* and best part of the Army as well as the Nation will do so soon as convenience is offered. Prevent them in so good an Action whilst it is in your Power, and make it appear, That as the Kingdom hath always depended on the Navy for its Defence, so you will yet go further by making it, as much as in you lies, the Protection of her Religion and Liberties; and then you may assure your selves of all Marks of Favour and Honour suitable to the Merits of so great and glorious an Action. After this I ought not add so inconsiderable a thing, as that it will for ever engage me to be in a most particular manner,

*Your faithful Friend,*

*Aboard the Leyden,  
in the Gooree.*

*and humble Servant,*

AR. HERBERT.



A N  
**ENGAGEMENT**  
 OF THE

*Noble-men, Knights, and Gentlemen at  
 EXETER, to Assist the Prince of  
 ORANGE in the defence of  
 the Protestant Religion, Laws and  
 Liberties of the People of England,  
 Scotland and Ireland.*

**W**E do ingage to Almighty God, and to  
 his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, and  
 with one another, to stick firm to this Cause,  
 and to one another in the Defence of it, and ne-  
 ver to depart from it until our Religion, Laws,  
 and Liberties are so far secured to us in a Free  
 Parliament, that we shall be no more in danger  
 of falling under *Popery* and *Slavery*. And where-  
 as We are ingaged in the Common Cause un-  
 der the Protection of the Prince of *Orange*, by

which means his Person may be exposed to Danger, and to the desperate and cursed Designs of Papists, and other Bloody Men, We do therefore solemnly ingage to God and to one another, That if any such Attempts be made upon Him, We will pursue not only those that made them, but all their Adherents, and all we find in Arms against Us, with the utmost Severity of just Revenge in their Ruine and Destruction; and that the executing any such Attempt (which God of his Infinite Mercy forbid) shall not deprive us from pursuing this Cause which we do now undertake, but that it shall encourage Us to carry it on with all the Vigor that so barbarous Approach shall deserve.

*The Declaration of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty at the Rendezvous at Nottingham, Nov. 22. 1688.*

**W**E the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of these Northern Counties assembled together at *Nottingham*, for the defence of the Laws, Religion, and Properties, according to those free-born Liberties and Privileges, descended to us from our Ancestors, as the undoubted Birth-right of the Subjects of this Kingdom of *England*, (not doubting but the Infringers and Invaders of our Rights will represent us to the rest of the Nation in the most malicious dress they can put upon us) do here unanimously think it our Duty to declare to the rest of our Protestant Fellow-Subjects the Grounds of our present Undertaking.

We are by innumerable Grievances made sensible, that the very Fundamentals of our Religion, Liberties, and Properties are about to be rooted out by our late Jesuitical Privy-Council, as hath been of late too apparent. 1. By the King's dispensing with all the Establish'd Laws at his pleasure. 2. By displacing all Officers out of all Offices of Trust and Advantage, and placing others in their room that are known Papists, deservedly made incapable by the Establish'd Laws of our Land. 3. By destroying the Charters of most Corporations in the Land. 4. By discouraging all persons that are not Papists, preferring such as turn to Popery. 5. By displacing all honest and conscientious Judges, unless they would, contrary to their Consciences, declare that to be Law which was merely arbitrary. 6. By branding all Men with the name of Rebels that but offered to justify the Laws in a legal Course against the arbitrary proceedings of the King, or any of his corrupt Ministers. 7. By burthening the Nation with an Army, to main

maintain the Violation of the Rights of the Subjects. 8. By discountenancing the Establish'd Reformed Religion. 9. By forbidding the Subjects the benefit of Petitioning, and construing them Libellers; so rendring the Laws a Nose of Wax, to serve their Arbitrary Ends. And many more such like, too long here to enumerate.

We being thus made sadly sensible of the Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government that is by the Influence of Jesuitical Counsels coming upon us, do unanimously declare, That not being willing to deliver our Posterity over to such a condition of Popery and Slavery, as the aforesaid Oppressions inevitably threaten; we will, to the utmost of our Power, oppose the same, by joining with the Prince of *Orange* (whom we hope God Almighty hath sent to rescue us from the Oppressions aforesaid) will use our utmost Endeavours for the recovery of our almost ruin'd Laws, Liberties, and Religion; and herein we hope all good Protestant Subjects will with their Lives and Fortunes be assistant to us, and not be bugbear'd with the opprobrious Terms of *Rebels*, by which they would fright us, to become perfect Slaves to their tyrannical Insolencies and Usurpations; for we assure our selves, that no rational and unbiass'd Person will judge it Rebellion to defend our Laws and Religion, which all our Princes have sworn at their Coronations: Which Oath, how well it hath been observed of late, we desire a *Free Parliament* may have the consideration of.

We own it Rebellion to resist a King that governs by Law, but he was always accounted a Tyrant that made his Will the Law; and to resist such an one, we justly esteem no Rebellion, but a necessary Defence; and in this Consideration we doubt not of all honest Mens Assistance, and humbly hope for, and implore the great God's Protection, that turneth the Hearts of his People as pleaseth him best; it having been observed, That People can never be of one Mind without his Inspiration, which hath in all Ages confirmed that Observation, *Vox Populi est Vox Dei*.

The present restoring of Charters, and reverting the oppressing and unjust Judgment given on *Magdalen* Colledge Fellows, is plain, are but to still the people, like Plums to Children, by deceiving them for a while; but if they shall by this

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Stratagem be fooled, till this present storm that threatens the Papists, be past, as soon as they shall be resettled, the former Oppression will be put on with greater vigour: but we hope in vain is the Net spread in the sight of the Birds; For (1.) The Papists old Rule is, *That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*, as they term Protestants, tho' the Popish Religion is the greatest Heresy. And (2.) Queen *Mary's* so ill observing her promises to the *Suffolk*-men that help'd her to her Throne. And above all, (3.) the Popes dispensing with the breach of Oaths, Treaties, or Promises at his pleasure, when it makes for the service of Holy Church, as they term it. These, we say, are such convincing Reasons to hinder us from giving Credit to the aforesaid *Mock-Shews* of Redress, that we think our selves bound in Conscience to rest on no Security that shall not be approved by a freely Elected Parliament, to whom, under God, we refer our Cause.

*His Grace the Duke of NORFOLK's  
Speech to the Mayor of NORWICH  
on the First of December, in the  
Market-place of Norwich.*

Mr. MAYOR,

**N**OT doubting but you and the rest of your Body, as well as the whole City and Country, may be alarmed by the great Concourse of Gentry, with the numerous Appearance of their Friends and Servants, as well as of your own *Militia*, here this Morning, I have thought this the most proper

proper place, as being the most publick one, to give you an account of our Intentions.

( Out of the deep sense we had that in the present unhappy Juncture of Affairs, nothing we could think of was possible to secure the Laws, Liberties and Protestant Religion, but a Free Parliament ; WE ARE HERE MET TO DECLARE, that we will do our utmost to defend the same by declaring for such a Free Parliament.

And since His Majesty hath been pleased (by the News we hear this day) to order Writs for a Parliament to sit the 15th of *January* next, I can only add in the Name of my Self and all these Gentlemen, and others here met, That we will ever be ready to support and defend the Laws, Liberties and Protestant Religion: And so GOD SAVE THE KING.

To this the Mayor, Aldermen, and the rest of the Corporation, and a numerous Assembly did concur with his Grace, and the rest of the Gentry.

His Grace at his lighting from his Horse, perceiving great numbers of Common People gathering together, called them to him, and told them, He desired they would not take any occasion to commit any Disorder or Outrage, but go quietly to their Homes; and acquainted them that the King had ordered a Free Parliament to be called.

TO THE  
KING's Most Excellent Majesty,

*The Humble Address of GEORGE  
Lord DARTMOUTH, Admiral of  
Your Majesties Fleet for the present  
Expedition, and the Commanders of  
Your Majesties Ships of War now ac-  
tually at the Spitehead in Your Maje-  
sties Service under his Lordships Com-  
mand.*

*Most Dread Sovereign,*

**T**HE deep sense we have had of the great  
Dangers your Majesties Sacred Person  
has been in, and the great Effusion of  
Christian Blood that threatned this your Maje-  
sties Kingdoms, and in probability would have  
been shed, unless God of his infinite Mercy had  
put it into your Majesties Heart to call a Parlia-  
ment, the only means, in our opinion, under the  
Almighty, left to quiet the Minds of your Peo-  
ple ;



ple; We do give your Majesty our most humble and hearty Thanks for your gracious Condescension, beseeching God to give your Majesty all imaginable Happiness and Prosperity, and grant that such Counsels and Resolutions may be promoted, as conduce to your Majesties Honor and Safety, and tend to the Peace and Settlement of this Realm both in Church and State, according to the Establish'd Laws of the Kingdom.

On board the Resolution,  
at Spitshead,  
Decemb. 1. 1688.

Dartmouth.

Berkley.

Ro. Strickland.

J. Berry.

Jo. Beverley.

John Leake.

George S. Lo.

John Lacon.

Fr. Wicell.

Will. Davis.

John Munden.

Tho. Legg.

Tho. Leighton.

St. Akerman.

W. Cornwall.

W. Jenning.

Joh. Clements.

Jo. Ashby.

Rob. Wiseman.

John Feniper.

Will. Booth.

Tho. Coale.

R. D'Lawall.

Tho. Johnson.

M. Aylmer.

Fr. Frowde.

Tho. Skelton.

Ab. Potter.

A. Hastings.

Jo. Montgomery.

M. Tennant.

Clo. Shovell.

E. Dover.

R. Weston.

W. Botham.

J. Tyrel.

St. Fairborne.

Henr. Botler.

William Pooley.

Jo. Fraseby.

Ba. Wild.

F I N I S.

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